

# THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

**PART 1**

The solution of the problem of Democracy

**PART 2**

The solution of the Economic Problem

**PART 3**

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammar al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

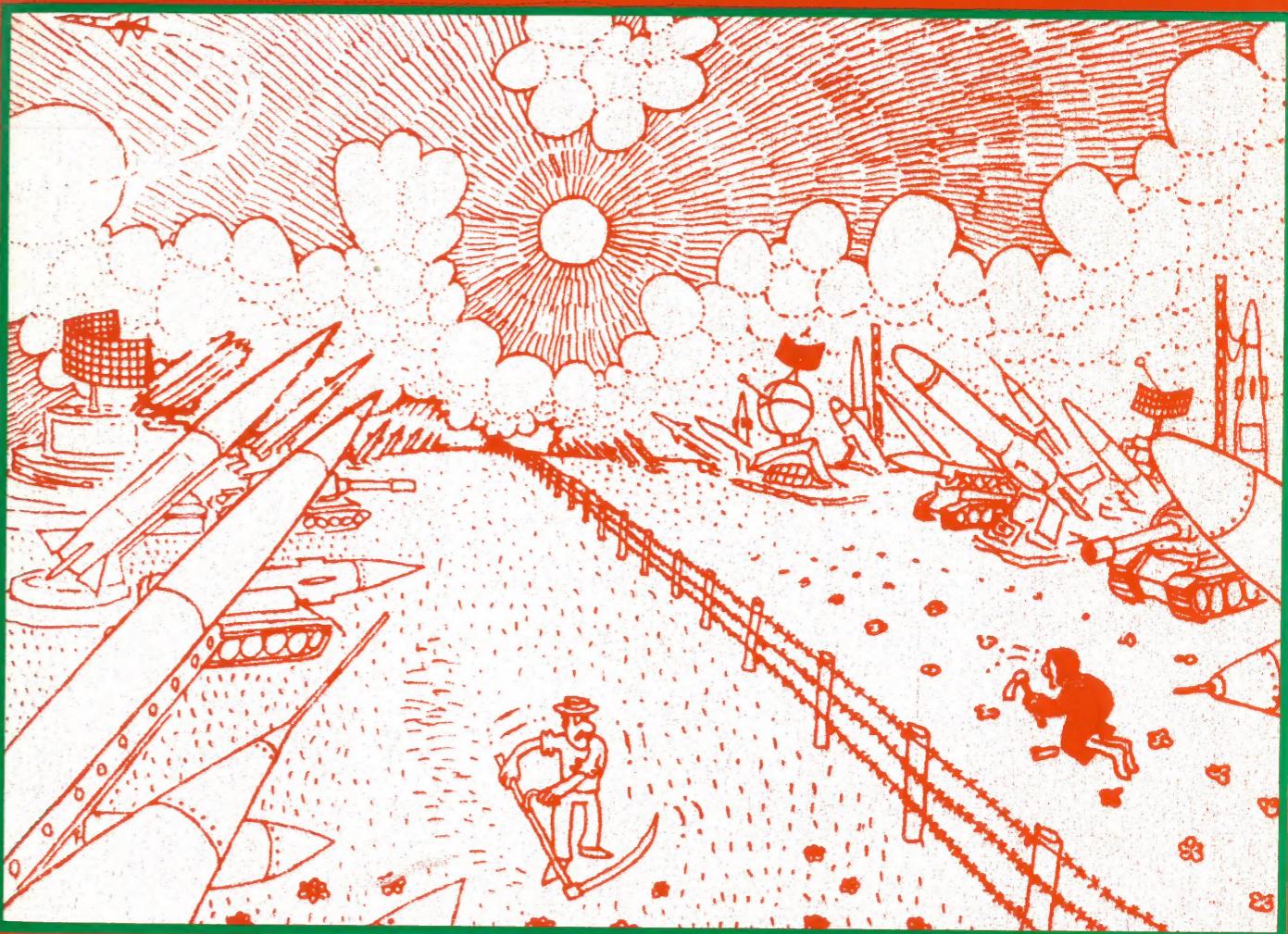
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# jamahiriya review

JANUARY 1981

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**Special Report:**  
**NON-ALIGNMENT: THE STRUGGLE TO REJECT THE SUPER  
POWERS**

Inside: The Kurdish  
right to statehood



## NOTICE

### INVITING ARAB VOLUNTEERS TO JOIN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE ARAB LIBYAN JAMAHIRIYA

In view of the revolutionary role for unity undertaken by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; it being the nucleus state of the union and of all the Arabs; the command of the General Headquarters of the Arab Libyan Armed Forces declares that Arab students may enrol in the following academies

- 1 — Air Academy
- 2 — Naval Academy
- 3 — Air Defence Academy
- 4 — Girls' Military Academy

Applicants for enrolment must satisfy the following conditions

- 1 — He (she) must be an Arab National;
- 2 — must not be less than 17 years nor more than 23 years old;
- 3 — must have obtained the GCE equivalent;
- 4 — must pass the prescribed medical test;
- 5 — must not have been convicted of an offence to the prejudice of honour

A written application should be submitted together with the following documents:

- (a) certificate stating the level of his academic education;
- (b) no previous convictions certificate;
- (c) a copy of his passport or travel document or personality identity card;
- (d) 4 passport size photographs;
- (e) full address.

#### GENERAL INFORMATION

- Applicants will graduate in the rank of second lieutenant;
- Applicants shall be governed by the military laws and regulations applicable to the Armed Forces;
- Where an applicant is unable to obtain any of the documents set down in (a) to (e) above, he may undertake to produce them at a later date;
- Applications for enrolment shall be submitted to the Command, General HQs or to the nearest camp; and abroad to the embassy or a People's Arab Libyan Bureau, of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, who are prepared to supply answers to queries regarding the preceding paragraph.

### THE ARMED FORCES OF THE ARAB LIBYAN JAMAHIRIYA

# jamahiriya review

Issue No 8 January 1981

**NON-ALIGNMENT** is not merely a rejection of the two super-powers. It is the positive affirmation that the peoples and nations of the world have the right to run their own affairs free from outside interference, and to form alliances based on the defence of their own interests, not dominated by the strategic considerations of East or West. The Libyan Jamahiriya is an active member of the non-aligned movement, and has made a number of distinctive contributions to it. Phil Kelly examines the future of non-alignment and the dangers which the movement faces at a time of increasing international tension.

**MADRID** WAS the venue for an international symposium which considered the thought of the Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi. Academics, politicians, and revolutionaries from Europe and the Third World discussed the ideas set out in the Green Book, and a Special Correspondent reports on the gathering.

**ARAB UNITY** must come at the economic level if it is to succeed in other fields. Dr Alan George looks at a new report which urges that the task be taken seriously.

**THE KURDS** are a distinct nation with a right to a state of their own. Muammer Qadhafi recently urged that they be granted this right; Louis Eaks looks at the Kurds' present situation.

**PALESTINE** REMAINS the central issue in the Middle East. Recent votes at the United Nations against Zionist actions in occupied Palestine have served further to illustrate how the Zionists depend on US backing, and how strongly they are opposed by the vast majority of mankind.

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## Time to stop talking about Palestine

DURING DECEMBER the United Nations General Assembly went through its annual ritual of discussing the Palestine question and adopting a series of resolutions which set out the view of the international community on how to resolve the Palestine conflict. Much of what the international community says on the subject cannot be criticised. The General Assembly has clearly set down the basic and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. These include their right to return to their homeland from which they have been dispossessed and forced into exile; their right to self-determination in an independent sovereign state free from external interference, and their right to be represented in international forums by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as their sole legitimate representative.

In its latest series of votes, the General Assembly called on the Security Council to consider sanctions against the Zionist regime in Palestine for its persistent violation of the UN Charter, international laws and the Fourth Geneva Convention.

This call to the Security Council was motivated by the failure of the Zionists to respect the earlier call from the Assembly that Israel should have confirmed its withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967 by the 15th November 1980.

However, the advances achieved by the Palestinian people in the international community over the past few years must not be allowed to overshadow the fact that the debate about Palestine is consistently failing to take into account the realities of the conflict. The very essence of the conflict is Zionism, and although its racist character has been recognised by the General Assembly, this fundamental issue which needs to be confronted and resolved, does not feature in the recent UN debates and resolutions.

Too often the United Nations acts as a force to preserve the *status quo*, rather than taking bold initiatives to resolve injustices. While brutal regimes in Palestine, southern Africa and elsewhere in the Third World trample over human rights and display a total disregard for human dignity, the diplomacy of the UN has all the signs of a polite tea party. Meanwhile, human beings are subjected to starvation, imprisonment, torture and other maltreatments which directly contradict the very ideals of the United Nations.

The plight of the Palestinian people will not be resolved through diplomacy, which seeks to find a compromise, a balance, between one side and the other. If an injustice exists, what grounds are there for compromise? There is not a court in the world which seeks to recognise the rights of the criminal.

The decision of the Mayors of occupied Hebron and Halhoul to remain on hunger strike in the United Nations building is symbolic. The Security Council has recognised the illegality of the Zionists' move to deport the mayors. But they are only two of some two million Palestinians who have no less rights to return. What is the Security Council going to do to ensure that the rights of the two million are respected?

The Security Council has been asked by the General Assembly to consider a programme of economic sanctions against Israel, the settler colonial state implanted on Palestinian Arab soil. Israel and the Zionists need hardly be concerned; they know that the United States will veto any resolution on this matter; probably Britain and France will abstain. Such moves will forcefully underline the hypocrisy so often spoken in the United Nations, and the indignity imposed on the majority of nations in the UN by the existence of the veto powers which five states are privileged to hold.

Many countries have sought to convince the Palestinians and the Arabs that if only they would moderate their demands, then Israel could be convinced of the merits of respecting a compromise situation. This has been the argument of the west for more than thirty years; to date there is no evidence of a single Zionist concession to the Palestinians to support this argument.

The so-called European Initiative has been shown for the charade that it really is; nine west European countries, many of which were once the imperialist rulers of the world, cannot adopt a stand which is independent of the United States and the Zionists. There is no validity in the argument that it takes time for the EEC states, or anyone else, to consider a stand on the Palestine question. Pronouncements on such issues as Poland, or Afghanistan are issued without any consultations whatsoever.

It is time that diplomatic references to a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza were exposed as the fraud they really are. The Palestine question existed long before the Zionists seized these territories in 1967. Prior to 1967 thousands of Palestinians had already been exiled from their homes in the territories seized in 1948, and those who remained in their homeland under Zionist rule became second class citizens in their own land. It is this racist and colonialist characteristic of Zionism which is the heart of the problem, and one which has to be confronted.

The United Nations has to recognise that Zionist racism and discrimination is at the very heart of the Palestine question; until this is resolved there will be no solution to the plight of the Palestinians. Indeed, it is a shameful reflection on the Arab nation that from the Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean hardly a single Arab regime is prepared to take a stand against their western allies on this issue.

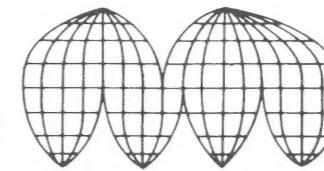
The conflict in Palestine is the result of a colonialist venture by the Zionists, aided and abetted by the major colonialist powers. There is no just solution which permits this colonial venture to continue. The West Bank and Gaza scheme for a Palestinian state has parallels with the Bantustans of the apartheid system in South Africa. Although one cannot disregard the humanitarian issues posed regarding the rights of the settlers, rights cannot be confused with privileges, and certainly not colonialist privileges. The Palestinians have said unequivocally that Jews wishing to remain in Palestine as equal citizens in a democratic Palestinian state would be free to do so.

In Zimbabwe, only recently, the rights of the indigenous population were recognised, and declared to be central to a just solution. The Bantustans in South Africa, and apartheid in general, have been roundly rejected by the international community. The hypocrisy and double standards voiced in the United Nations on the Palestine question has to come to an end. South Africa and Palestine, apartheid and Zionism, are simply two sides of the same coin.

Firm action to confront the Zionist state is required. There is no evidence to suggest that the Zionists have any intention of respecting even a compromise solution. Instead, the Zionists show their contempt for the international community as a whole by persisting in their delinquent behaviour, exemplified by the shooting of unarmed Palestinian Arab students, deportations, and military aggressions against Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and United Nations forces.

Against this background the continued talking at the United Nations makes a total mockery of the very ideals on which the organisation was founded.

A monthly review of Libyan, Islamic and Third World affairs



**PANORAMA**  
news review



### Syria-Libya merger moves to fruition

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and Syria have agreed to establish a joint revolutionary command to supervise the union between the two states, the Jamahiriya News Agency reported on 18th December. Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi and Syrian President Hafez al Assad have also agreed to set up a follow-up committee to work out a detailed plan for a single state.

Talks between the two leaders in Libya during mid-December ended with a communiqué declaring agreement on the following:

□ To set up a revolutionary command between the two states in order to guide the merger until the unity plan and its institutions are implemented.

□ To form a committee, comprising Lieutenant Colonel Mustafa al Kharoubi, Mr Jadallah Azouz al Talhi, Dr Abdul Rauf al Kassem and Mr Ahmad Iskander Ahmad, to draft a plan for the framework of the unitary state, its institutions and tasks, taking into account the revolutionary experiences in Syria and the

Jamahiriya, and also of the minutes of the debates and working papers that have been submitted. The committee will submit its recommendations to the revolutionary leadership.

### Spain recognises Polisario

THE SPANISH Government has granted official recognition to the Polisario Front and issued a strong statement supporting self-determination for the people of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara. Recognition came on 17th December at a meeting in Algiers between a Spanish envoy and Polisario representatives. It was the first direct official contact between Spain and the liberation movement.

The Polisario Front has been waging a successful guerrilla war against Morocco, which annexed the Western Sahara following Spain's withdrawal in 1975. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed by Polisario, has attracted recognition from around the world, including more than half the members of the Organisation of African Unity. The Libyan Jamahiriya has been a consistent supporter of Polisario and of self-determination for the Sahrawi people.

Earlier, Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi had reaffirmed the close ties between the Jamahiriya and Spain. He

described relations between the two countries as 'excellent', and said that he would be very happy to visit Spain's Arab and Islamic historical sites, according to Madrid radio on 29th November.

The radio added that the Libyan leader had firmly rejected allegations of Libyan assistance to Basque separatists: 'Our country defends national unity, and we are completely opposed to separatism,' he was reported as saying.

The close relationship between Spain and the Jamahiriya was underlined by the disclosure in mid-November that the two countries are to renegotiate an unusual oil deal, which had been in effect for five years and had been highly advantageous to Spain. Libya sold Spain oil at below market rates — in effect granting her a \$250 million loan.

Under the agreement, signed in 1975, the Spanish national oil company Hispanoil paid for only 65 per cent of the crude it received. The rest was treated as discounted crude on extended credit. At the end of the year, the amount outstanding was converted into a formal dollar-denominated loan to Spain for five years at 1.5 per cent below the London interbank offered rate. The loan figures appear in Spain's national accounts as part of the country's foreign debt, handled ▶

by the state run Instituto de Credito Oficial. The arrangement, which last year provided for the supply of 100,000 barrels per day, expired in December 1980.

Spain has traditionally had close links with the Arab homeland, based on the European state's heritage of 800 years of Arab rule that ended in 1492. It is the only European country that has spurned diplomatic ties with the Zionist state.

### Manchester murder: Iraq accused

IRAQ HAS been accused by the Libyan students in Britain of responsibility for the killing of Libyan student Ahmad Mustafa in Manchester on 29th November. On 8th December a statement from the General Union of Jamahiriya Students in Britain described Mr Mustafa as 'a loyal revolutionary to the Great First September Revolution, led by Brother Muammer Qadhafi.'

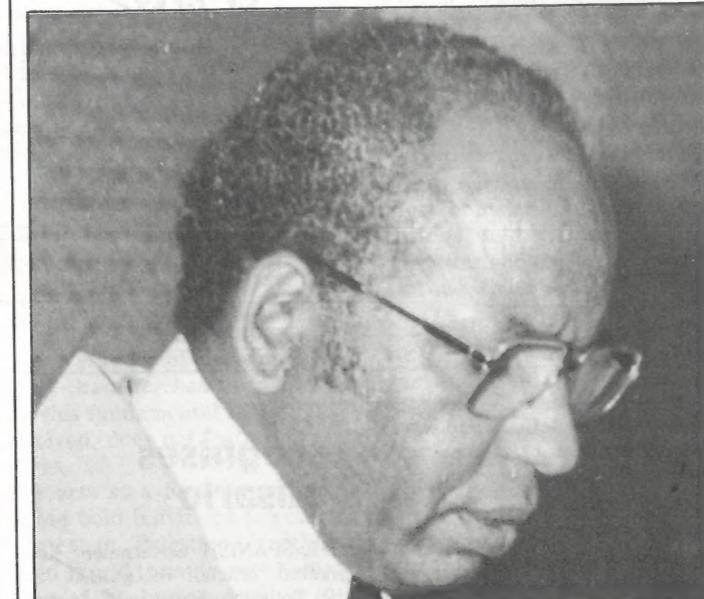
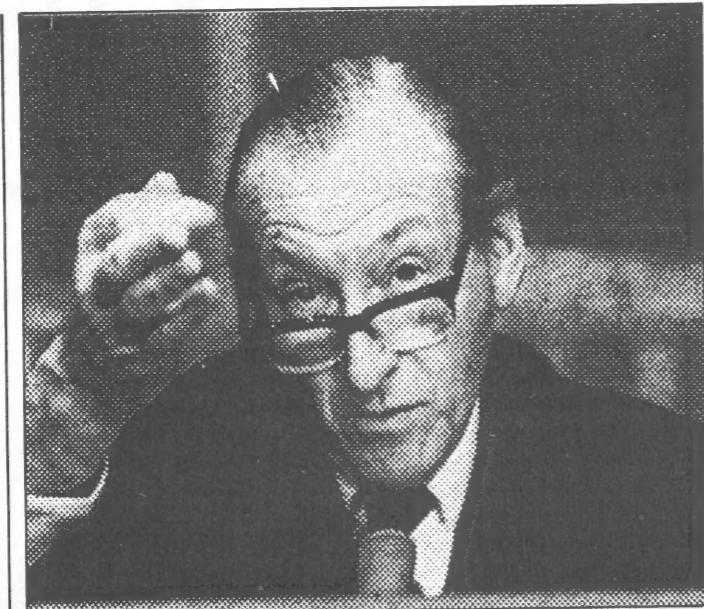
Mr Mustafa had wrongly been described in the British media as an opponent of Colonel Qadhafi. The Libyan students' statement said that Iraqi hostility towards the Jamahiriya and its Revolution prompted the Baghdad regime to assassinate Mr Mustafa.

The press allegations were also firmly rejected by Libyan students who on 13th December staged a protest in Manchester against the killing. A spokesman for the students said, 'Ahmad Mustafa was our chosen representative on the Arab Society at Manchester University. We did not want dead. We had confidence in him.'

### Libyan aid for Italian earthquake victims

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is to give \$7 million for the victims of the recent Italian earthquake disaster, Rome radio reported on 15th December. At least 5,000 people died and 200,000 were made homeless by Italy's worst earthquake since 1915, which devastated southern Italy on 23rd November. A delegation headed by Mr Ahmad Shahati, head of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, discussed aid with Italian President Alessandro Pertini and Naples city officials in December.

It was the second time in a year that the Jamahiriya has provided aid for victims of earthquake disasters. Following the destruction of the Algerian town



Top: Dr Kurt Waldheim (see: 'Waldheim asserts Arab rights'); Bottom: Ahmad Shahati (see: 'Libyan aid for Italian earthquake victims')

of El Asnam, Libya earmarked \$10 million for the relief effort, and sent medical teams, blankets, tents, medical and food supplies.

The close ties between the Jamahiriya and Italy were underscored by Mr Shahati's announcement in December, following talks with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo, that Libya had agreed to sell Italy 30,000 more barrels of oil per day. The Jamahiriya had earlier cut back on sales to Italy and other countries.

This contrasts sharply with the trade relationship between Italy and her other major oil suppliers, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, with which Italy has enormous deficits. The Libyan Jamahiriya is Italy's second largest export market while Italy is Libya's principal supplier of goods. Italian exports to the Jamahiriya almost cover the cost of oil imports from the north African state. This had been partly for technical reasons, said Mr Shahati.

Mr Shahati told newsmen that Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi was particularly anxious to develop links with Italy in all spheres. He said he was pleased with the Italian attitude to the Middle East, and in particular to the Palestine question. Mr Colombo, he said, had expressed Italy's complete solidarity with the Palestinian cause, and had de-

### UN Palestine Day: Waldheim asserts Arab rights

THE THIRD United Nations International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, 29th November, was marked by a special meeting in Geneva of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In a message to the meeting, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said peace would never come while the Palestinians continued to be denied their rights. He said the way to peace lay only 'through a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the problem, in particular, the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.'

In a statement to mark Palestine Day, the nine members of the EEC reaffirmed their commitment to Palestinian self-determination and the status of the Palestine Liberation Organisation as an essential party to peace negotiations.

In the Jamahiriya, Libyans converged on the coastal town of Sirte for a mass rally to express their support for the Palestinian cause.

Mr Omar al Hamdi, Secretary General of the Tripoli-based Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress and Chairman of the International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People and their Central Cause, Palestine, sent messages to the UN Secretary-General, the Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Palestinian Rights, the Chairman of the International Organisation for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the Chairman of UNESCO.

Mr al Hamdi's messages drew attention to the grave suffering of the Palestinians, both in their occupied homeland and in exile, as the result of Zionist aggression. He called on the international organisations to strengthen their support for the Palestinian struggle and to increase pressure on the Zionist state.

### Sadat's anti-Libyan claims refuted

THE POLITICAL editor of the Jamahiriya Arab News Agency (JANA) has refuted allegations in Egypt's state-controlled press that the Jamahiriya has mobilised forces along the border with Egypt. In an 8th December statement, JANA denounced the allegations as 'groundless and untrue', and described them as a

'fabrication by the Egyptian government', designed as a pretext for an assault on Libya and as a cover behind which the Sadat regime could call in ever-greater numbers of US troops to 'protect' Egypt's territory.

The allegations were published in *Al Ahram*, the mouthpiece of the Sadat regime, on 6th December. According to the paper, Libya had mobilised its forces as a prelude to an attack on Egypt. It called on the United States to speed up arms deliveries in the face of the Libyan 'threat'.

The JANA statement said the Jamahiriya had not mobilised any of its forces in the eastern regions. On the contrary, people's congresses throughout Libya were debating means of avoiding confrontation with the Egyptian army. Also under discussion was the possibility of afforesting the region of Tobruk, in north east Libya, as part of an agricultural development programme for the region, JANA said.

These discussions followed Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi's recent call to 'approve a strategic policy that excludes confrontation between the Libyan armed forces and those of Egypt, or between the Libyan people and the Egyptian people for ever.' Speaking in early September at the passing out ceremony of the Tajurah Air Force College, Brother Qadhafi added, 'I have suggested to the people's congresses that tractors, instead of tanks, should move to Tobruk and Jaghboub, and transform minefields into farm fields and trenches into water channels.'

### 136 million people liberated from colonialism since 1960

SINCE THE United Nations 1960 Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries, 136 million people in fifty-nine trust and non-self-governing territories have emerged from dependent status. This was the message of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim when he addressed a special meeting to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Assembly's declaration during December.

Mr Waldheim added that the admission of Zimbabwe was a fitting climax to a period which would be remembered as the era of decolonisation. The problem of Namibia, he continued, rightly remained one of the UN's major preoccupations. While a peaceful solution for Namibia was a foremost concern of the Assembly



Frelimo guerrillas successfully defeated Portuguese colonialism

and the international community, one must also bear in mind that there are 21 other territories for whose peoples the declaration had yet to be fulfilled.

Also addressing the meeting, the president of the Assembly, Rudiger von Wechmar, said there were few areas in which the organisation had as important a record of concrete achievements as that of decolonisation. The era of the end of the Second World War, which had given birth to the United Nations, had also been that of the beginning of revolt of under-privileged nations against foreign domination.

He continued by saying that it was not until 1960 'that great year of African independence, when the winds of change' had been felt with full strength on the continent most widely affected by the colonial system.

The General Assembly adopted on 11th December 1980 a plan of action for the full implementation of its 1960 Declaration.

The plan calls for efforts to end all political, military, economic and any other form of collaboration with South Africa. By 134 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions, the Assembly condemned the continuing activities of foreign economic and other interests which were impeding the implementation of the Declaration of Decolonisation with respect to the colonial territories, particularly Namibia.

The Assembly also adopted a resolution, inviting France to initiate with the Malagasy government, as a matter of urgency, negotiations for settling the question of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europe and Bassas da India. The Assembly stressed the necessity of respecting the national unity

and territorial integrity of a colonial territory at the time of its accession to independence. It 'invited' France to initiate negotiations for the reintegration of the islands, which were arbitrarily separated from Madagascar, by 81 votes to 13, with 37 abstentions.

### Nicaragua marks Human Rights Day

THE SANDINISTA government in Nicaragua announced on 11th December that it had pardoned and released from prison 503 supporters of former dictator Anastasio Somoza. The pardon was in celebration of International Human Rights Day. Nine other Somoza supporters were released from prison and placed under house arrest.

### Libyan anti-Jewish boycott report was fabricated

A GROSS error has been unearthed in a report on British-Libyan trade that was published on 7th December in the American-owned London Sunday paper *The Observer*. According to the report, Mr Aboshnif Elkez, the Jamahiriya's Commercial Counsellor at the People's Bureau in London, had stressed that the problem of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europe and Bassas da India, the two countries were no obstacle to the development of trade, but that 'Jewish-owned companies

need not apply.' The alleged comment provoked a storm in British Zionist circles, with the usual charges of anti-semitism being freely hurled as the motive for the Arab trade boycott of Israel.

The alleged statement by the Libyan Commercial Counsellor was revealed, however, to be a fabrication. On 19th December the Zionist weekly *The Jewish Chronicle* reported that Mr Steve Vines, author of the *Observer* article, and an active Zionist campaigner in Britain, had finally admitted that the remark did not come from Libyan sources. He now claims it was made by a businessman from an unspecified company.

The Arab boycott is not operated from any racist motivation. It is a means of applying political pressure on the Zionists in retaliation for their usurpation of Palestine and their denial of the rights of the Palestinian people.

### Zionists strengthen links with apartheid regime

THE RACIST South African regime has agreed in principle to a request from the Zionist state for \$200 million in easy credit to buy food and goods from South Africa over the next three years, it was disclosed on 10th December. The request was made during talks in occupied Jerusalem between the South African Finance Minister, Mr Owen Horswood, and Zionist cabinet minis-

ters. Israel's exports to South Africa in the first nine months of last year totalled \$59 million, and its imports from the apartheid state amounted to \$110 million.

An Israeli Treasury spokesman claimed Israel's main purchases from South Africa were meat, tobacco, asbestos, hides, food and paper; major exports were agricultural produce, textiles and chemicals. But it has been firmly established by independent sources that military supplies constitute a major portion of Israeli exports to South Africa, including missile boats, communications systems and sub-machine guns, to be used by the apartheid regime in suppressing the racist state's black African majority. The two states also collaborate over nuclear weapons. Journalists' questions on these matters went unanswered by Horwood and his aides during the visit.

## Camp David yields military results for US

THE UNITED States is actively seeking formal military alliances with Israel and the Sadat regime. Washington wants military bases in Sinai and occupied Palestine to help secure a massive military foothold in the Arab homeland. The US already has bases in Egypt and is to establish more in Oman and Somalia. Recently joint military exercises were staged in Egypt between US and Egyptian armed forces.

The New York *Daily World* on 21st November, quoting sources in Cairo, said talks were under way between the US and the Sadat regime on a proposed 99-year military alliance. The proposed treaty, said the paper, would give the Pentagon legal rights to maintain bases in Egypt under terms similar to those enjoyed by the British prior to the 1952 Egyptian Revolution which swept Gamal Nasser to power.

In October, Zionist premier Beiggin claimed that he had twice been approached unofficially by members of the present US administration who wanted Israel to enter into a military alliance with Washington, and to give the US bases in occupied Sinai. Beiggin said he would support the idea if a formal request came from the Americans. Israel controls two air bases in Sinai, which are to be handed back to Egypt under the terms of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.

The proposed military pact and US use of the Sinai bases were raised during talks in Israel in late September by Mr Robert Komer, US Under-Secretary for Defence, and in early November by General David Jones, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of



'Freedom fighters' with imperialist weapons — see 'West arms Afghan guerrillas'

Staff. On 24th November, *Newsweek* said that Israel would ask the Reagan administration to station several thousand US troops at the air bases after the Israelis withdrew in 1982. They would be described as a 'peace-keeping force', there to enforce the agreement between Israel and Egypt.

Hints of a plan for a US base in occupied Palestine came from Mr Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, who told a Beirut weekly magazine in December that President-elect Reagan would strengthen US military ties with the Zionists, 'probably to the extent of creating a US military base somewhere in the Middle East ... maybe in Israel.'

## New headquarters for Jamahiriya's UN mission

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is building a 25-storey tower in Manhattan, near the United Nations headquarters. The new premises will contain office space for the Libyan mission, residential quarters for the Ambassador, mission staff and visiting delegations, and an underground garage. Plans for the future expansion of the mission building provide for a school, a day-care centre and, possibly, a mosque.

The Libya House project will save the Jamahiriya considerable expenses on office and apartment rentals and on hotel bills. The building project represents a sound investment on the property market. The lot was bought for \$1.8 million in 1979 but the Libyan mission has recently received offers for the property, which it has no intention of selling, that are nearly three times higher than the purchase price.

The original plans for Libya House were drawn up by recently

and 'Smart' bombs make it possible for Israel to protect its borders without retaining the 1967 occupied Arab territories.

## British police harass Arab students

TWENTY ARMED police held students at Swansea University in Wales at gunpoint on the floor while their rooms were searched in a dawn raid, the *Daily Telegraph* reported on 3rd December. A door and window were smashed as officers of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad and Special Branch broke into two houses on 28th November. The students are to lodge official complaints.

Mr Paul Dinwiddie, Students' Union President, said: 'No one was told it was the police and there was a total atmosphere of terror.' He said nothing was found and no one arrested. The students, some of them Arabs, are being advised to forward complaints to the Home Office and Members of Parliament.

Mr Bassam Shehadeh, a 25-year old Palestinian, said, 'I was terrified. I was asleep when the police burst in and dragged me from my bed.' Police questioned him about Palestinian resistance organisations.

## US study says West Bank useless for Israeli security

A SECRET study commissioned for the Carter administration has concluded that Israel has no security grounds for its continued occupation of the West Bank. The study was prepared by the Rand Corporation, and underlines the expansionist policy of the Zionist regime in Palestine.

The study reportedly denies Israel's contention that its forces must retain control of the hilltops in the West Bank for radar use. Highly sophisticated early-warning systems, provided by the US, could serve the same purpose behind the pre-1967 truce lines.

The Rand Corporation report also concludes that the establishment of Jewish settlements throughout the West Bank serves no real security purpose, but supports selected Israeli military outposts along the Jordan River as useful for surveillance.

The study says that the Zionists' highway across the northern part of the West Bank has a security value. But it recommends Israel surrender the road in the interests of peace, as it relinquished control of the oil fields in Sinai. The report stresses that recent technological advances including improved helicopters

CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE has emerged that the counter-revolutionaries fighting the central government in Afghanistan are receiving arms from the west. Following a ten-day visit to Kabul, American journalist Marilyn Bechtel, writing in the *New York Daily World* on 19th November, described the US, Egyptian, British and West German weapons she saw on display at the Museum of Captured Arms.

One exhibit comprises US-made anti-tank rockets marked 'BLINDICIDE — M 12, PETN 90/10', which are designed to release poison gas as they explode. Adjacent were metal containers containing CS gas, labelled 'Made in USA Federal Laboratories, Pa.' This gas causes burning of the eyes, salivation, vomiting, pain in the spine and finally, incapacitation of the victim.

Also on display were two kinds of British soft-tipped 'dum-dum' bullets, use of which is banned under international law. There were also British 2-inch mortar shells, Egyptian anti-personnel bombs, and anti-tank shells from West Germany, marked 'GGR-DM-22, A-1, HEAT.'

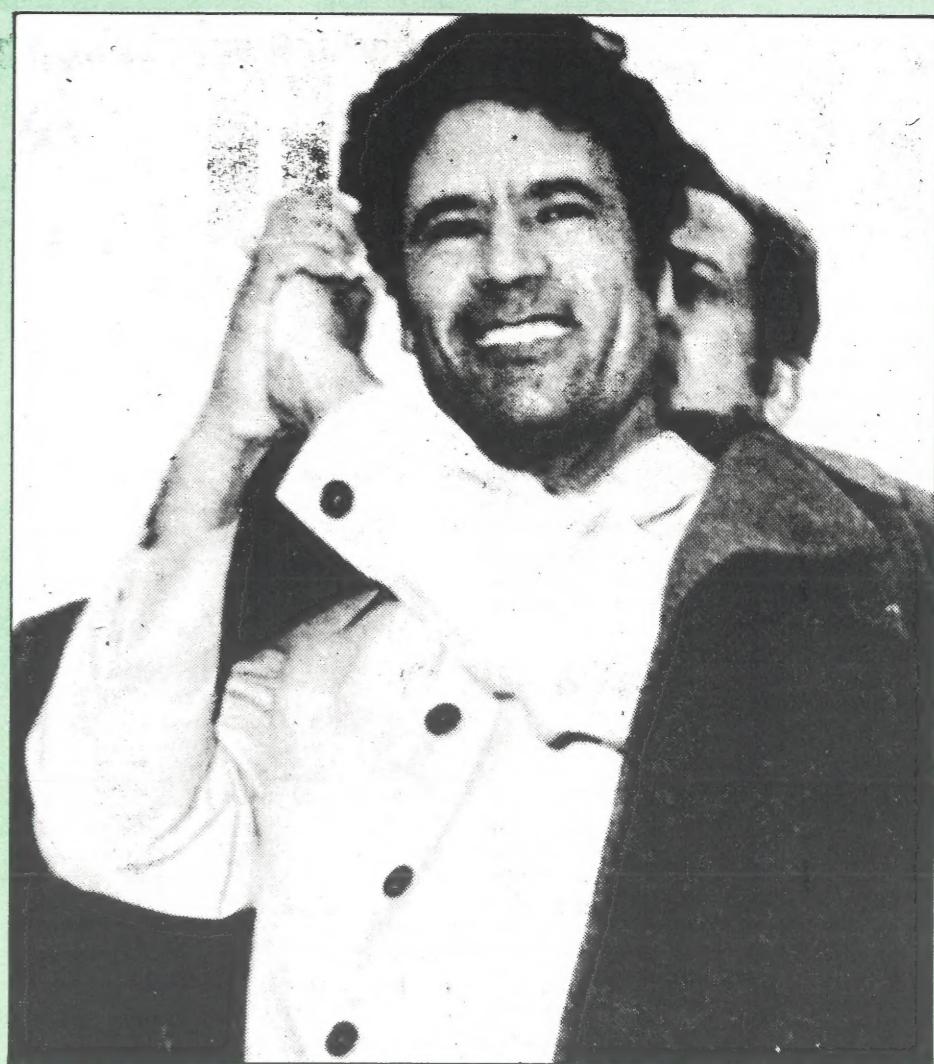
'THE INTERNATIONAL Colloquy on the Thoughts of Muammar Qadhafi (The Green Book)' took place from 1st to 4th December at Madrid's Autonomous University who organised the event as a 'contribution to the enrichment of human thought and a re-inforcement of the ideological bases uniting and strengthening ties between peoples.'

Just how valuable the international colloquy on the Green Book has been, has yet to be judged. Certainly most of the real discussion took place not in the hall, where the various papers prepared in advance by an impressive array of academics, lawyers and theoreticians from all over the world were read out, but outside in the corridors during various breaks in sessions where all attending found they could discuss the issues at hand in a more informal atmosphere.

The conference programme looked at certain questions affecting the world in relation to the Green Book. These were:

- 'Can instruments of power such as the party, the parliament, the tribe, regardless of the form of utilisation, today be instruments for the exercise of power in a correct democratic form?'
- 'Does all power belong to the masses in governments utilising Marxism, or is it dispersed among instruments of power as is the case in prevailing liberal or centralist democratic governments?'
- 'Can the worker's relationship — on behalf of his class or of the party which represents his class — change as property ownership is changed from private to state ownership?'
- 'Man's struggle against exploitation: is it limited to making the manifestations of exploitation disappear or are we confronted with a continuing struggle to discover the oppressive laws in society and destroy them, substituting for them more equitable and just ones which will only become effective when man controls power and wealth without any intermediary?'

The role of the party, a central theme in the first part of the Green Book was a major area of discussion. However, the whole question of the party and of Marxism did prove something of a stumbling block for some of the delegates. More than one delegate expressed the view that there could be no real revolution without a party, and a Leninist party at that, organising it. And on the whole it was noticeable that the European academics present, particularly the French and the Spaniards, thought very much along traditional western lines of political philosophy while those from the USA and the developing countries were much less dogmatic. Certainly they were much less Marxified. Because of this there was a greater sympathy among them than among their European counterparts for the ideas of the Green Book. Pierre Bieusses of Université X in Paris, in his paper entitled 'Political Parties and Popular Sovereignty', more or less agreed with Muammar Qadhafi's views that the 'party system aborts demo-



## Madrid seminar discusses Green Book

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, there is a growing interest in the ideas of Libyan revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi, as set out in his *Green Book*. The most recent symposium on Brother Qadhafi's thought took place in Madrid. A Special Correspondent reports.

the revolution or the chief advisor to the people was significant in that it belied the notion that Bieusses had really understood the type of society proposed in the Green Book and being initiated in the Jamahiriya.

A greater understanding of the Green Book was displayed by Abdul Haq, the assistant professor of Arabic at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, in his paper entitled 'Popular Congresses and People's Committees, the Instrument of Direct Democracy'. It is true there was a confused attempt to differentiate between various types of democracies in the world. For example, he put forward 'representative democracy' (which exists in the USA) as somehow being different from 'constitutional democracy', which he explained as 'a form of rule within a framework of constitution' (which presumably is what is also found in the USA). Nevertheless he quickly got to his point, which was that the various types of democracies in the world are in fact nothing of the sort. 'It is not a hidden fact,' he said, 'that none of the above mentioned systems represent the true meaning and the

►genuine aims of "Democracy". They do not even represent 50 per cent of society, they represent but the interests of a handful of persons in society.'

Abdul Haq sees the only true method of direct democracy as that put forward by Muammar Qadhafi in the Green Book. Through popular congresses and people's committees, the people, he comments are now able to discuss their problems everywhere and at every level to find solutions to their problems and to take decisions not on a personal and party basis, but on a popular one.'

Also from New Delhi, Balraj Trikha, a lawyer, showed considerable understanding of the Green Book in his paper on 'Political Parties and Democracy'. His paper, showed a deep sympathy for the Green Book, attacking the party system as an 'overt dictatorship' and calling for the 'order as propagated by Brother Qadhafi' to be 'established to the good of the people all over the world.'

Besides the role of the party, the other main topic connected to the Green Book that generated interest was the question of minorities and culture. Papers by Mario Azzopardi of Malta on 'Language and Art as Aspects of Human Civilisation as proposed in the Green Book', and by Claus Hermann of the Department of Political Science, Montreal, on 'Sport as an Aspect of Human Civilisation as understood within the Green Book', presented lucid and concise arguments on the value of culture and sport. Both deserve publication elsewhere. The Azzopardi paper is noticeably interesting for the manner in which it highlighted the faults of both capitalist and communist states in their methods of patronising and using the arts. However, the paper presented by Edmond Jouve from the Political Science Department at the Sorbonne in Paris on the 'Awakening of Dominated Minorities in the European Third World' (a reference to the fact that Europe's minorities are economically no better off than Third World states), showed a certain preference — not untypical of French academics — to see the problem in Marxist terms. Despite this though, he agrees with Qadhafi in the latter view that there are two types of minorities. He says, quoting Qadhafi, 'those who belong to a nation which provides them with a social framework, and those who, not belonging to a nation themselves, form their own social framework'. In Jouve's own words though, 'if an agreement exists about the goal of these two types of minorities, which is the recovery of *self*, the means proposed to arrive at it are different. Independence is not always the goal which should be reached.' Jouve's overwhelming emphasis on France's minorities — the Bretons, Basques, Occitanians and Corsicans — (understandable because he is after all a Frenchman) to the detriment of other European minorities such as the Welsh, the Galicians in Spain or the Frisians in the Netherlands and West Germany, presents a rather one-sided picture of

## Qadhafi speaks on Third Universal Theory

THE HIGHLIGHT of the Madrid symposium on the Green Book came on 3rd December when Libyan revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi addressed the participants via television satellite on the Third Universal Theory. He affirmed that democracy in most parts of the world was a sham, for 'every head of state is like Napoleon, Hitler and Mussolini.' They hide behind allegedly democratic national assemblies, but in fact retain real power in their own hands. The only real democracy, he said, was found in the Libyan Jamahiriya, where the people, organised in people's committees and people's congresses, exercised direct control over their destiny.

The abolition of the traditional systems of oppressive government and their replacement by direct democracy with power in the hands of the people would further the cause of world peace, said Brother Qadhafi: 'By applying the Third Universal Theory, peace will be strengthened and the machinations of rulers, governments, leaders and parties will be ended. The party game which deals with elections and political programmes has no significance for the people.'

Referring to the problems faced by workers, Qadhafi urged the overthrow of the exploitative economic relationships. There is no justification for a man to use another man to produce for him — a man is a human being and not an animal or machine,' he declared. 'He who produces should therefore consume the products of his production.' He urged workers to occupy their factories, making themselves the beneficiaries of their productive efforts.

Brother Qadhafi declared that in traditional societies the police and armies were used to oppress the people. Weapons, he said, should therefore be placed in the hands of the people. With the creation of the armed people, regular armies would be abolished.

European minorities. Even when he does refer to such peoples as the Scots, he manages to get it wrong. Having mentioned the Scots amongst other minorities, he then proceeds to say that they are 'cultural entities', but they lack specific political organisation. Jouve has obviously never come across the fact that Scotland has its own laws and religion totally separate to the rest of Great Britain. The point would be minor if it were not for the fact that in attempting to look at Europe's minorities in relation to the ideas of the Green Book Jouve has really only looked at France's minorities with their special problems in dealing with the highly centralised French state. And the problem facing Jouve in seeing matters from his

Standing armies, he said, should be abolished not only because of the threat they posed to the people's freedom, but also because they exploited the ordinary soldiers who were forced to fight in wars in which they did not believe. Regular soldiers were enslaved by the societies they were paid to defend and die for. There was no reason, said Brother Qadhafi, why some members of society should be singled out for this responsibility. The defence of a society was a matter for all the people.

Brother Qadhafi re-stated his conviction that women should be liberated from the oppression they suffer, both in the west and east. Women in the east, he said, were treated like commodities, as if they were pieces of furniture. In the west, women were forced to work for a living. They were seen primarily as tools for production. The world, he said, will witness a workers' and women's revolution to free the workers from exploitation and liberate women so that they might live on an equal footing with men.

Qadhafi disclosed that new books would shortly be published giving a fuller explanation of the Green Book, in which the Libyan leader set out the basic principles of the Third Universal Theory, which guides the Al Fateh Revolution. Its three parts deal respectively with democracy, economics and social relationships. The book calls for the establishment of Jamahiriya — 'states of the masses' — where power, wealth and arms are placed under the direct control of the people, organised into committees open to all.

The Madrid symposium was the latest in a series of seminars staged to discuss the concepts of the Green Book. More than 100 papers were submitted for discussion by philosophers, sociologists, historians, economists and writers from all parts of the world. The four-day seminar was televised live via satellite in the Libyan Jamahiriya.

IN A SERIES of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during December, the United Nations forum has strongly rejected the Security Council's Resolution 242 adopted in June 1967 as the basis of a Middle East settlement, and called on the Security Council to consider a programme of sanctions against Israel for the Zionists' consistent violation of international laws, the Geneva Conventions and the resolutions of the international body at the United Nations.

For the first time, by 98 votes to 16, with 32 abstentions, the General Assembly rejected Security Council Resolution 242, on the grounds that it does not provide for the future and for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. An amendment by Malta, a member of the non-aligned movement, called the attainment of these rights a 'contentio sine qua non' for a just solution of the question of Palestine.

Resolution 242 has always been rejected by the Palestinians and the PLO on the basis that it makes no references to the rights of the Palestinian people; instead it merely refers to the plight of Arab refugees.

Also for the first time, a regular General Assembly resolution on Palestine calls for the convening of the Security Council to consider the adoption of sanctions against the Zionist state in Palestine, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which deals with threats to international peace and security, and provides for sanctions in such situations. Voting was 94 countries in favour to 19 against, with 34 abstentions.

Yet despite these clear diplomatic and political victories for the Palestinians, there remains little reason to assume that the Security Council will take the steps demanded of it, because of the veto powers of the big powers, notably the United States and Britain in this instance. Failure by the Security Council to act, however, will almost certainly anger the General Assembly and reinforce the repeated call by the Libyan Jamahiriya to remove the veto powers from the five big powers in the Council. Libya has consistently argued that the veto powers make a mockery of democracy, and relegate all but five powers to the rank of second class members of the UN.

The voting on the Palestine resolutions came two weeks after the opening of the debate on Palestine in the General Assembly and resulted in a stand far stronger in its support for the national rights of the Palestinian people than that adopted at any previous regular session of the Assembly. This is largely because of the increasing international support for these rights voiced at the Emergency Special Session on Palestine in July 1980.

Additionally, the Assembly rejected partial agreements on the Palestine question, a reference to the Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt. This means the UN will not give backing



## UN votes on Palestine isolate Western powers

WITH THE Security Council adopting its third resolution demanding that Israel permit the return of the exiled mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, and the decision by the mayors to stage a hunger strike in the UN building, Palestine has been the focus of a series of resolutions adopted in the General Assembly during December. Louis Eaks examines the details.

to a further agreement between Jordan and Israel which is the principle plank in the incoming Reagan administration's policy on Palestine.

A resolution passed in 1979 had mentioned the Camp David accords signed between Egypt and Israel by name and condemned it. The present resolution expresses strong opposition to 'all partial agreements and separate treaties'.

By 86 votes to 22 with 40 abstentions, the Assembly determined that such treaties 'constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people', and declared that no state had the right to undertake any actions, measures or negotiations that could affect the future of the Palestinian people without the participation of the PLO on an equal footing.

There is also a special section dealing with Jerusalem, instead of its usual inclusion with a call for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory 'including Jerusalem'. The resolution censures the Zionist state for enacting the 'Basic Law', which proclaims Jerusalem as Israel's 'eternal city'. The resolution declares this a violation of

international law and specially of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. By 143 votes to 1 with 4 abstentions the Assembly determined that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying power, which had altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and, in particular, the 'Basic Law', were null and void and must be rescinded forthwith.

Finally, and for the first time, the resolution mentioned the Security Council Resolution 181 of 1947, which proposed the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state. This reference placed the western powers in a dilemma, because they had voted for it 33 years ago, yet today it does not reflect their stand in supporting the Zionist state, and the borders which it claimed in 1948. Moreover, the Partition Resolution gave the Zionists no rights whatsoever in Jerusalem, instead calling for the Holy City to be an international zone.

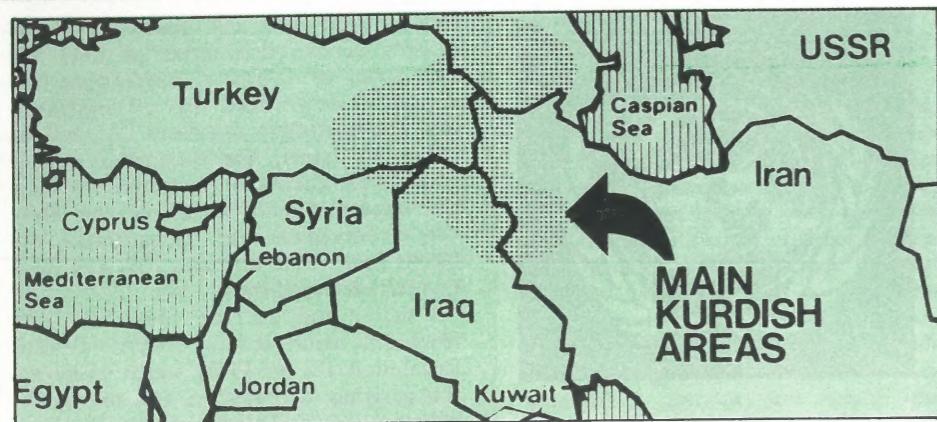
Meanwhile, the Security Council vote in December calling on the Zionist regime in Palestine to permit the return of the mayors of occupied Halhoul and Hebron followed a vote in the General Assembly on the subject. By 117 votes to 2 against (Israel and the US) with 25 abstentions, the Assembly called on the Council to ensure that Israel rescinded illegal measures taken against the Palestinian mayors and the Sharia Judge Tamimi.

The Assembly voted 6 resolutions pertaining to the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices affecting the human rights of the population of the 1967 occupied territories. The Assembly also condemned Israeli practices and policies against Palestinian students and faculty, 'especially the policy of opening fire on defenceless students, causing many casualties.'

The Assembly condemned 'the systematic Israeli campaign of repression in the occupied Palestinian territories, restricting and impeding academic activities of Palestinian universities by subjecting selection of courses, textbooks and educational programmes, admission of students and appointment of faculty members to the control and supervision of the military occupation authorities', in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The persistence of the Zionists in changing the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and legal status of the Syrian Arab Golan Heights was condemned by 119 votes to 2 against and 23 abstentions. The Assembly expressed grave concern 'over reports indicating the intention of the Israeli authorities to enact legislation embodying the changing of the character and status of the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights.'

An editorial comment on the Palestine question appears on page 4 of this magazine.



## The Kurdish right to statehood

AT THE end of the First World War, the Kurdish people found their territory divided between four neighbouring countries. Since then they have continued a liberation struggle against formidable odds. However, in a recent statement the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi has declared that the Kurdish right to self-determination should be recognised and supported. Louis Eaks reports.

'I AM for the recognition of the Kurdish nation to take its place in the Near East, together with the Arab, Turkish and Iranian nations,' the Libyan Leader Muammar Qadhafi told an international symposium on the *Green Book* held in Madrid in early December.

In an address transmitted to the Spanish city by satellite, Muammar Qadhafi said, 'There is no need to suppress the Kurds. They should be allowed to create their own state. I care for the unity of the Arab lands and the unity of the Arab nation, but this does not make me behave in a racist and imperialist way towards the Kurds.'

He stressed that his support for Kurdish self-determination in their traditional homeland, which straddles Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria, was 'not directed against Arabs, Turks and Iranians or any other nation.' The Libyan leader discounted the claims of those opposed to Kurdish independence, asserting that a Kurdish state would be an ally of the Arab nation, and of the Turks and Iranians.

In a recently published book\* the French author, Gerard Chaliand, well known for his authoritative writings on Third World liberation movements, declares: 'The

independence from Britain right to the present day.

As early as 1919, the Kurds launched a revolt against the British occupation of southern Kurdistan, calling for a 'free and united Kurdistan'. In 1921, the Kurdish people boycotted the British engineered plebiscite organised to 'elect' the Emir Feisal as ruler of Iraq, after the throne was offered him by the British High Commissioner in Mesopotamia.

Even the Baghdad Pact, signed in 1956, three years after the CIA organised the coup in Iran to re-install the Shah, was designed to deal with the Kurdish question, as well as the threat to the imperialist powers to the pact (Britain and the United States) anticipated from the rise of Arab nationalism. A clause of the pact agreed co-ordinated repression of any revolts in the territory of any of the states involved, and soon after was put into action against the rebellious Kurds of Juanroj (Iranian Kurdistan).

In recent years the Kurdish national movement has been used by anti-Arab powers such as the United States, the Shah's regime, and Israel, to destabilise the Arab homeland, and in particular Iraq. The Algiers Agreement signed between the Shah and Iraq's ruler Saddam Hussein (then Vice-Premier) ended Iranian logistical support for the Kurdish movement, and dealt, as it was designed to do, a bitter blow to the Kurdish liberation struggle.

Yet whatever the forces hostile to the Arab nationalist movement which have backed the Kurds in the past, Iraq has failed to respond to a genuine national liberation movement's demands for self-determination. Instead, the Saddam Hussein regime has responded harshly, as Maxime Rodinson does not hesitate to declare. He says, 'It is quite clear that the Arabs of Iraq are denying the Kurds certain elementary national rights. The deportation of a great many Kurds from areas of Iraqi Kurdistan which have been marked out for Arabisation is unfortunately a definite fact. Anywhere else such a practice would elicit the most vigorous protests. There is no moral or rational reason why such protests should not surface in this case as well.'

Like Qadhafi, Rodinson sees no contradiction in supporting both Arab and Kurdish national movements. He says, 'We must defend both the Arabs and the Kurds against injustice to the precise extent that they suffer injustice.'

Certainly the Kurdish people have suffered great opposition at the hands of the Turks, Iraqis and Shahist Iran, and their denial of self-determination has been heavily backed throughout most of recent history by the western imperialist powers. Not least, Britain's mandate over Iraq provided a period in which the Kurds were effectively denied their rights at a time of nationalist uprising throughout the surrounding lands. And this international intrigue against the Kurds continued long after Iraq's nominal



President Tito of Yugoslavia greets Muammar Qadhafi during the latter's official visit to the doyen of the non-aligned states

## Non-alignment: the struggle to reject the super-powers

THE DEATH of President Tito marked the end of an era in the non-aligned movement, of which he and Egypt's revolutionary leader Gamal Abdul Nasser were amongst the founders twenty-five years ago. It prompted Libya's Muammar Qadhafi to call for a new spirit and purpose to be instilled into the movement. In this special report Phil Kelly looks at the role of the non-aligned movement and its effectiveness today, and reviews the role of the Third Universal Theory as a central feature to positive non-alignment.

THE NON-ALIGNED movement was first called together at a conference in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1956. The four statesmen principally associated with the foundation of the movement were Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, Soekarno of Indonesia, Nehru of India and Tito of Yugoslavia. They embodied the desire

western empires have won their independence, it has become the largest single bloc at the United Nations. Although it dominates the proceedings of the General Assembly, much real power is kept out of its hands by the domination of the Security Council by the two major blocs, and their privileged veto powers.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has consistently campaigned for the democratisation of the United Nations by the ending of the super-powers' right of veto. This has not yet borne fruit.

Nevertheless, the power of the non-aligned movement is seen in its concerted actions in the UN. For example, the fight to break the stranglehold of the western-owned communications conglomerates on information flow in the Third World has taken place in UNESCO. The non-aligned movement has demanded that the present economic inequalities in the world should be remedied, and has put its demand for a new world economic order through the North-South dialogue and in other economic forums. Importantly for the Arab people and the Libyan Jamahiriya, the non-aligned movement wholeheartedly supports the creation of a state in Palestine for the Palestinian people, and has repeatedly condemned Israeli aggression and Zionist colonialism, which it has branded as racist.

Perhaps the greatest victory which it has had among western public opinion is the now general acceptance that the world's major divide is not between East and West, but between the developed industrial north and the south, which is



Demonstration in London in support of the Libyan People's Bureau; direct contact between peoples has been the distinctive Libyan contribution to world affairs

## The Green Book: a positive approach to non-alignment

BEFORE THE great Al Fateh 1st September Revolution of 1969, Libya was to all intents and purposes a western colony. The first steps of the Free Unionist Officers' Movement after the overthrow of the regime of the puppet King Idris were the expulsion of British and American military bases from Libyan soil. This was the sign that from henceforth, the policies of Libya would be solely in the interests of its own people, their fellow Arabs, and the people of the world against foreign military domination and colonialism.

It was in order to pursue this goal that Libya became and remains an active member of the non-aligned movement. The principles underlying Libya's foreign policy were formulated by Brother Muammar Qadhafi and are set out in the Green Book. The main elements of Brother Qadhafi's Third Universal Theory, as it affects foreign affairs are the rejection of capitalism and communism as they manifest themselves in the contemporary world. As Muammar Qadhafi has said, 'We call it the Third Theory to indicate that there is a new path for all those who reject both materialist capitalism and atheistic Communism. This is the path for all the people of the world who abhor the dangerous confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic military alliances. It is for all those who believe that all nations of the world are brothers under the aegis of the rule of God,' he told a gathering of European and Arab young politicians in Tripoli.

But non-alignment is not neutralism. For the Libyan Jamahiriya, it implies active involvement in world affairs on behalf of progressive causes. The Third Universal Theory, Muammar Qadhafi stressed to the young people gathered in Tripoli, 'is also for all the people who oppose racist governments which have built their own structures

industrially under-developed even where some countries are rich in raw materials. The general use of the term 'Third World' is in itself an acceptance of the importance of the non-aligned movement.

In rejecting the two major power blocs, the non-aligned movement does not do so even-handedly; for the two are far from identical, not even equal. The United States has six per cent of the world's population, but one quarter of its productive capacity. The Soviet Union has seven per cent of the population, but only one tenth of its productive capacity. Adding the economic might of America's European allies and Japan, and of the Soviet Union's allies in eastern Europe, to their respective super power partners serves to emphasise the extent to which the West is the most powerful world bloc, with the Soviet bloc the second most powerful by a wide margin.

East and West pose different kinds of threats to the Third World. The western system is at base economic. Western political efforts are directed towards maintaining control of countries and regions to protect western investments there. Multi-national corporations require assurances that their assets will not be nationalised, that their local work forces will not be able to demand decent wages, that their profits in the 'free' market will not be interfered with by countries which seek rationally to plan the use of national resources. They seek to control commodities so as to manipulate prices for maximum profit.

To police the world-wide system, the West controls international financial and economic institutions. But it also requires compliant national governments which will support its interests. This it achieves through military alliances, diplomacy, economic pressure, and secret interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The aim of all these is to maintain in power local elites which favour capitalism and the West, and to frustrate groups, movements and parties which appear to threaten its interests, however marginally.

Jamaica has provided a recent example of this battery of weapons in use. Supporters of former Jamaican Premier Michael Manley have accused the West — specifically Britain and the United States — of orchestrating the destabilisation of the country which led to Manley losing the recent General Election in that country.

In the run-up to the elections, the International Monetary Fund refused to supply Jamaica with much-needed loans, because Manley rejected demands that he alter his moderate socialist policies. The Jamaican economy, weakened by the fall in the price of bauxite, Jamaica's main export, was thrown into chaos.

The United States claimed that Manley was a tool of Fidel Castro because he had adopted a policy of friendship towards all Caribbean nations, whereas the US wants to keep Cuba isolated. Numerous CIA agents were infiltrated into the island to

## A strategy for the Mediterranean

THE NON-ALIGNED movement is above all an expression of the determination of Third World countries that their voices shall not go unheard, and that the constant encroachment by the super-powers on their affairs shall not go unchecked. Those countries in the greatest danger are Third World countries in an area which the super-powers have decided is of interest to both of them. The Mediterranean is one such area.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has constantly urged the need for all foreign forces to be removed from the Mediterranean area. While this call has had widespread support among the peoples of Mediterranean littoral countries, it has passed unheeded by the power blocs. In Madrid, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is currently meeting, bringing together European countries, East, West and neutral, in a vain attempt to resuscitate the corpse of East-West detente, which has been effectively killed by the newly aggressive posture of the United States. But demands that the situation in the Mediterranean be considered have been ignored.

In December, a symposium on peace and security in the Mediterranean was held in Malaga, Spain. A paper submitted for discussion by the Libyan

Jamahiriya pointed to the dangers posed by the build-up of foreign military powers in the region.

The United States has transformed the Mediterranean into a base from which to implement its aggression, and to carry out plans to strike at radical forces in the region, in order to reimpose an imperialist hegemony on the people of the area. The Camp David agreements between Israel, Egypt and the United States, the paper said, have transformed Egypt into a vital link in the strategy of NATO, and made it a link between American forces on all sides of the Suez Canal. In the process, it reinforces the Zionist regime in Palestine and the subjugation of the Palestinian people, and is a cover for plans to seize and control the oil resources of the Arab homeland, and to strike at national, Arab, and international movements for liberation.

The Egyptian military build-up on the borders of the Libyan Jamahiriya must be seen in this context, as much as the joint exercises between Sadat's forces and the American Rapid Deployment Force. The US Air Force conducts daily surveillance flights along the borders of the Jamahiriya, and US planes have had to be turned back by Libyan jets. The Libyan Jamahiriya, the paper reminded the symposium's participants, has called repeatedly for

the removal from the Mediterranean of all foreign naval bases, nuclear weapons and externally dominated alliances.

The coming to power of the Reagan administration poses new threats to the non-aligned movement. US propagandists have already indicated that they expect America to make a dramatic intervention to bolster the morale of the right wing extremists who put Reagan in power. The move is unlikely to be against the Soviet Union; it is far more likely that a liberation movement, such as that in El Salvador, or a non-aligned country will be singled out. An action against Muammar Qadhafi and the Libyan Jamahiriya or Fidel Castro and Cuba has already been mentioned as a possibility.

One thing is certain. The role of the non-aligned movement in uniting the countries of the Third World against such imperialist threats will be even more important in the coming years. The fact that the US sees the Libyan Jamahiriya and its revolutionary leader, Muammar Qadhafi, as one of the principal obstacles to US world designs has to be recognised as proof of the highest order of the contribution which Libyan non-alignment and the principles of the Third Universal Theory have made to the well-being of mankind.

stir up street violence and increase popular anxiety. There was a revolt, planned to the same reasons, among the British-trained police force. The western press carried on a sustained smear campaign against Manley and his party, seeking to portray him as a Cuban and Soviet agent.

When the object of the campaign succeeded, and the leader of the pro-western opposition, Edward Seaga, won the elections, the IMF immediately offered aid. Western politicians like Edward Heath wrote of the urgency of aiding Jamaica. Seaga opened his country for foreign investment on any terms. The West and western neo-colonialism had succeeded.

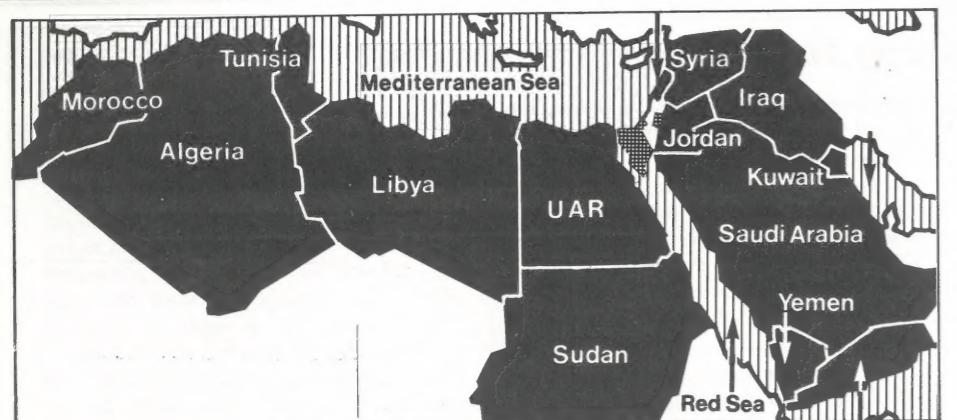
The eastern bloc is different. The Soviet Union does not have economic interests to protect the West. In many ways, the domination which the Soviet Union exercises over those nations around its borders is a response to persistent attempts by the capitalists to overturn the result of the Russian Revolution by military force, and if that failed, by isolation. After the Second World War, the victories of the Soviet forces in the anti-Nazi struggle meant that it was conceded by the West a 'sphere of influence'. There is no doubt that it rules those countries near its borders with an iron fist.

In the Third World, the emergence of national liberation movements provided a challenge to western domination. In their eagerness to install regimes which would protect their interests, the West forced nationalist movements which had little socialism in their programme into the arms of the Soviet Union as a supplier of arms and as a provider of diplomatic backing in 1978.

Thus the polarisation of the world into two camps, which the West has usually blamed on Soviet actions, in fact resulted mainly from western actions. For the Third World, the Soviet Union is an occasional, undependable ally. The West is a permanent, implacable enemy. For the Arab nation there is the standing insult that the West created and sustains the Zionist state of Israel which occupied Palestinian Arab land.

When the two power blocs combine, the interests of the Third World are probably in the greatest danger. Henry Kissinger, when US Secretary of State, offered detente to the Soviet Union in return for pressure on the Vietnamese to end their struggle against US intervention in their country and accept a negotiated solution which would leave the Americans puppets with a measure of power. Fortunately, the Vietnamese were strong enough to inflict military defeat on the US anyway.

Brother Qadhafi has indicated the dangers of such super-power collusion: 'I cannot see any possibility of detente unless it is achieved at the expense of the peoples of the Third World and small nations struggling for their freedom. Should the super-powers come to a truce while wars and tension prevail in the Third World, this cannot be considered as detente,' he told a press conference in 1978.



The Arab homeland: unity is essential

## Arab Economic Unity: The prospects and pitfalls

**ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION** and integration between the Arab states is vital to the future of the Arab homeland, according to a recent report, which takes to task those Arab regimes whose efforts towards unity fail to meet the aspirations of the Arab nation. Dr Alan George examines the proposals and comments of the report which underlines the validity of the merger plans now under way between the Libyan Jamahiriya and Syria.

IN THE eleven years since the Al Fateh Revolution in Libya, the Jamahiriya has established its credentials as the leading advocate for Arab unity. In recent months has come the call by Muammer Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution, for union with Syria, and the publication of a new nationality law, proclaimed by the General People's Congress, that all inhabitants of the Libyan Jamahiriya shall in future hold 'Arab nationality'.

The obstacles towards closer political and economic union between the various Arab states, indeed the failure to achieve this goal, reflect the intrigues and pressures exerted on Arab rulers by the major western powers to at least maintain the *status quo*, which serves well imperialist interests in the region.

The emergence of the Arab oil producing states and the economic power which it has placed in their hands, could be used for the benefit of the well-being of the Arab nation. Yet despite Muammer Qadhafi's emphasis that political independence rests on economic

freedom, the will to heed this message has failed to emerge.

Political unity means economic integration, and the scope for such integration, and the benefits which would emerge from it, are immense.

The economies of the various parts of the Arab homeland complement each other. In some regions, such as Egypt and Sudan, there is an abundance of labour but a dearth of investment funds. In others, notably the oil states of the Arabian Peninsula, funds are immense but there are severe labour shortages. Some regions, such as Syria and Iraq, have enormous agricultural potential. Their surplus produce could be channelled to the more densely populated regions and to those desert areas where the scope for food production is limited. The huge market represented by a unified Arab homeland with 150 million residents would allow industrial development on a scale not now possible.

The Jamahiriya has moved with the other Arab states to encourage closer economic co-operation and integration in the Arab homeland. It is a number of the Arab Common Market, along with ten other countries. Libya has contributed to Arab economic unity within the framework of the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), which has created a number of joint Arab companies and also established financial institutions jointly with other Arab states, for example the Arab Banking Corporation and the Arab Group for Insurance and Reinsurance.

But progress has so far been limited, with severe adverse consequences for the Arab people. This was underlined by a recently-published study on Arab economic prospects in the coming decade, undertaken by the Beirut research institute, Argus. Regional co-operation in industrial development is vital, says the study's author, Professor Atif Kubursi, if the Arab homeland is to see sustained economic development. The Arabs must also tackle the widening gap between rich and poor within and between states; Arab oil producing states must rapidly transfer their oil income into human and physical capital able to replace oil as a revenue source; the decline in food self-sufficiency must be reversed; and Israeli expansionism must be halted. The professor says that oil states have tended to use oil as a crutch to tide them over short-term crises rather than as a tool for development, or even to serve national causes.

Despite the rise in revenues, the oil states are not well suited for the development of a modern economy. The harsh climate, lack of arable land, water and other resources, coupled with the legacy of colonial rule — a high degree of illiteracy and a shortage of skilled and unskilled labour — all create problems. Development projects in which the surplus from oil has been invested have sometimes been inadequately planned, or not co-ordinated with domestic and regional production plans, the report says.

### OAPEC call for Arabisation of oil industry

THE OBSTACLE to Arab economic unity posed by continuing foreign control over the Arab oil industry was underlined by Mr Mana Said Oteiba, UAE Oil Minister, at a meeting of OAPEC held in Kuwait in early December. The meeting examined projects aiming at pan-Arab co-operation in the oil and petrochemicals sectors.

Since its foundation in 1968, OAPEC has launched a number of programmes which have given the Arab oil producers a foothold in oil distribution. But many oil producers are still far from the goal of control over their own principal industries. One reason is that western technical expertise is still crucial in the extraction and refining of oil, but more important is that, particularly in countries like Saudi

Arabia, production is still geared to external demand, and profits from oil are shared with foreign companies.

Over 95 per cent of the oil exploitation areas in Saudi Arabia are held either by Aramco (a consortium of four US oil companies, now nominally owned by Saudi Arabia) or other American companies. The interest of the US in maintaining influence over and profits from Arab oil, and the conflicting desire of Japan and Europe to step up their penetration, create powerful external pressures against Arabisation of the oil industry. This pressure is backed by the increasing US military presence in and around the Arab homeland, intended to increase American leverage over the oil policies of countries such as Saudi Arabia.

### Iraq works against Arab economic unity

IRAQ HAS wrecked faltering moves for a unified Arab programme of economic development. At the Arab summit in Amman, which ended on 27th November, an Iraqi-sponsored proposal to establish a \$5,000 million fund to assist the least developed states of the Arab homeland was agreed to. Some political commentators described the plan as a positive result of a summit which had otherwise served only to demonstrate the divisions among the Arabs. The summit was boycotted by Syria, the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria, Democratic Yemen, Lebanon and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, because these states felt that it would do nothing to solve the pressing problems of disputes between Arab states, and that these disputes would prevent consideration of the main Arab task — the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.

But careful consideration of the economic proposals shows that these too were in the same divisive mould as the summit as a whole. They are simply a scheme by which Iraq's ruler Saddam Hussein is seeking to divert attention from his disastrous aggression against Iran, and to assert his personal claim to leadership of the Arab nation. The plans are overambitious and ill-considered; but the real harm is that they have swept aside the beginnings of detailed economic planning for Arab development which Arab League experts had been working on for most of the year.

The authoritative London journal

Heavy emphasis on the development of an infrastructure not tied to production has been particularly damaging to agricultural sectors in some states. The food imports in nine of them between 1970 and 1977 rose from \$850 million to \$5,600 million. Farmers have been unable to compete with cheap food imports as infrastructural and industrial investment has taken precedence over improved agricultural production methods. The share of agriculture in gross domestic product (GDP) declined in most Arab states during the 1970s, even in states such as Algeria and Iraq with viable agricultural potential. In Algeria the share of agriculture in GDP fell over this period from 12 per cent to around 6 per cent, while in Iraq it declined from 16.1 per cent to just over 5 per cent.

The neglect of agriculture in the oil states is part of the wider problem of food supplies in the Arab region as a whole. There are strong arguments for regional co-operation in agricultural investment, and an obvious need for oil producing economies with limited agricultural production possibilities to link directly with oil-less Arab states with

developed Arab states — Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti and the two Yemens. The founders of AFESD — Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE and Qatar — insist that they, and not the AFESD, will form a board to decide the destinations of loans. MEED comments: 'Already the way to "political" lending lies open.' In effect the fund will seek to pull poorer Arab states into the orbit of American influence.

The six beneficiary countries badly need the extra development funds. But MEED points out that they are not adjacent countries, 'making a nonsense of the Arab League's ideal of integrated development for the whole Arab nation.'

Iraq first put forward its proposal for a decade of Arab development at last July's meeting of the Arab Economic and Social Council in Amman.

Even then it was seen as part of an Iraqi bid to enhance the regime's status, and was not taken very seriously. The plan was placed on the proposed agenda for the Amman summit at the AESC's September meeting in Tunis, but there was no mention of it in the Amman summit's working documents.

The half-baked and divisive Iraqi plan has swept aside prospects for real, integrated Arab economic development under Arab League auspices. MEED says: 'Months of preparation by secretaries of the Arab League to present a coherent policy of Arab national development were swept away in minutes' when Iraq bulldozed its proposals through the Amman summit.

Kubursi as one of the major obstacles to economic development and co-operation in the Arab homeland.

Economic co-operation on the industrial and manufacturing levels, accompanied by increased trade between Arab countries, is seen by many Arab economists as a priority for regional development. The limited success of industrialisation in the Arab homeland stems in part from defective institutions, shortages of skilled labour, weak planning processes and the limited size of the market in most oil states. The expansion of inter-Arab trade would tackle the last-mentioned problem, would help reduce income and wealth disparities between Arab states, and stimulate regional co-operation in industry.

The report, therefore, lends its weight to the merger between Syria and the Libyan Jamahiriya, a union which will unite a major oil producer, with its consumer markets and need for skilled manpower to meet the demands of the Jamahiriya's development programme, with Syria which could benefit from the Jamahiriya's economic support, and provide skilled manpower and certain consumer goods in return.



*Ships from throughout the world in Tripoli port*

## Growth In Franco-Arab trade

THE FRANCO-ARAB Chamber of Commerce has reported continued trade expansion between France and the Arab homeland in the first nine months of 1980. French imports of Arab goods, mainly oil, totalled over \$15,258 million in the survey period, a 54.6 per cent increase over the first nine months of 1979. At the same time, French exports rose by 21.5 per cent to \$7,907 million.

According to statistics compiled by the chamber, France recorded a \$10,205 million trade deficit with its six biggest Arab oil suppliers — Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and the Libyan Jamahiriya. This was partly offset by substantial surpluses with the Maghreb countries, and with Egypt and other non-oil exporting Arab states. However, France's total trade deficit with all Arab states in the nine months rose by 118 per cent to \$7,351 million. This compares with \$3,362 million in the corresponding period of 1979.

Commenting on the figures, the chamber's president, Michel Habib-Deloncle, said French exporters were holding up well despite stiff competition for Arab markets. He noted that imports from Arab states accounted for nearly 16.2 per cent of total French imports during the nine months, compared with 14.5 per cent in the corresponding

period of 1979. The same countries had taken nearly 10.2 per cent of France's exports, against 9 per cent in 1979. Nevertheless, he urged French companies to show 'increased dynamism' in Middle East markets and 'invest more in their sales effort there.'

## New Badea loans for Africa

THE ARAB Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) has recently announced loans to Botswana, Cameroun and Tanzania. The \$7.25 million loan to Botswana is to help finance the construction of Gaborone airport. It represents about 15 per cent of the scheme's total cost. The loan carries interest of 5 per cent per annum and is repayable in 15 years, including a three year grace period. The \$9 million loan to Cameroun and the \$8 million loan to Tanzania are for unspecified schemes.

## EEC and Arab funds meet to study co-financing

EXPERTS FROM the EEC Executive Commission, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (FADES) discussed stepping up and streamlining

joint Euro-Arab financing operations in a growing number of African countries at a meeting held in Kuwait in late November.

The meeting was a follow-up to the first major encounter between the European Commission and nine Arab funds, which was held in Brussels last June. It was agreed that further contacts between the EEC and the Arab funds would focus on a number of key practical issues designed to facilitate Euro-Arab co-financing operations in Third World countries.

The Kuwait meeting focussed mainly on co-ordinating work contracts, tendering and administrative procedures to be followed for Third World projects which are co-financed by several international aid agencies. Problems created by different administrative procedures have been tackled by the European Commission, which presented the Arab funds with a draft of the general conditions for public supply contracts.

EEC experts stress that Arab funding bodies are concerned to draw up administrative rules adapted to the needs of developing countries, and have promised to submit the report to their lawyers for further study.

An attempt to establish a common text will be made at another meeting between the two sides, to be organised in Kuwait in March or April this year.

Both sides have also agreed to exchange more information on 29 possible projects which could be co-financed in Africa in the

coming years. All Arab enquiries will be dealt with by the European Commission in Brussels, while EEC officials will deal with BADEA and FADES rather than with the other funds. Discussions on these aspects will continue at a meeting of project directors in Brussels next June, the first in a projected series of annual meetings.

Discussions in Kuwait dealt with a number of projects for which the EEC is currently seeking co-financing partners, or where financing problems have arisen. The Arab funds have indicated their willingness to continue their participation in the large scale Senegal River project to construct a dam at Diana in Senegal and a second one at Manentali in Mali. Other projects reviewed were the construction of the Baardhera dam in Somalia and the Bui dam in Ghana.

## Saharan states to co-ordinate development

MINISTERS OF transport and communications of six countries bordering the western Sahara began a four-day meeting in Algiers on 8th December to discuss issues of co-operation among their countries in the fields of communications and transport.

The ministers of the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria, Mauritania, Mali, Chad and Niger formed specialised committees at a summit conference held in Bamako, Mali, early last year.

The ministerial committee evaluated the transport and communications networks in their countries and discussed a formula for co-operation in these fields leading to integration and development between them.

## Arab airlines agree joint projects

A COMPANY to co-ordinate airline bookings, and an aircraft maintenance co-operation treaty, were approved at a recent meeting of Arab airlines in Kuwait, reported *Middle East Economic Digest* on 12th December.

The Arab Electronic Booking Company is jointly owned by Kuwait Airways Corporation (KAC), Saudia, Middle East Airlines (MEA) of Beirut, Alia, the Royal Jordanian Airline, Syrian Arab Airlines, Libyan Arab Airlines, Sudan Air and Gulf Air.

The maintenance agreement, signed by KAC, Saudia, Gulf Air, Alia and MEA, calls for individual airlines to service specified aircraft models.

## Major contract for British clothing firm

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has signed a £17 million contract with British firms for the supply of a wide range of clothing and footwear, it was announced on 4th December. Companies included in the contract are Courtaulds, Carrington-Viyella, Tootals, K Shoes and the Lancashire Footwear Manufacturers' Association. The deal was negotiated by a delegation from the Jamahiriya's Economy Secretariat led by Mr Abdussalam Guweir and was finalised at a signing ceremony at the Commercial Section of the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

The new contract brought Libyan clothing and footwear purchases in Britain last year to £30 million and it is reported that this figure could double in 1981.

## New currency introduced

THREE NEW denominations of banknotes and five new coins were introduced in the Jamahiriya on 1st December, the Jamahiriya News Agency reported. The notes are for 1.5, 0.5 and 0.25 dinars. The coins are for 100, 50, 20, 10, five and one dirhams. There are 1,000 dirhams to the dinar. Old notes and coins will gradually be withdrawn by the Central Bank.

## Sweden wins major contracts

SWEDISH FIRMS have won two major contracts in the Jamahiriya, a reflection of Libya's determination to avoid over-dependence on any single western source of imports. In December it was announced that a 'turnkey' contract for an extension to the engineering faculty at Tripoli's Al Fateh University had been won by Sweden's Amerad Betong Vaegfoerbaettringer (ABV). The \$21 million contract entails building seven two-storey buildings, including lecture rooms, a library, a restaurant and administrative offices. Total floor area is 8,500 square metres and completion time is 13 months.

At the same time it was announced that a \$23.2 million contract for a telephone network had been won by Sweden's L M Ericsson. The major part of the work entails laying telephone cables in the city of Beida and in two suburbs, New Beida and Messah. The cables, to serve about 130,000 subscribers,



*The Jamahiriya is issuing new currency notes*

will link up with two telephone exchanges which together can cope with 10,000 subscribers. The excess cable capacity will allow for future expansion. Ericsson won the contract for the two exchanges about two years ago. The Beida exchange is complete but the New Beida exchange building has yet to be completed. The exchange equipment is on site, however, ready for installation. The Swedish company is also working on a \$58.1 million contract for a telephone cable network in western Tripoli.

## New university planned

IT WAS announced in December that a technical university is to be established at Marsa Brega, on the coast of the Gulf of Sirte. The town is the location of Esso Standard Libya's liquefied natural gas plant and oil terminal and the new university will include faculties of petroleum and electronics.

## Libya triples exports to the USSR

ACCORDING TO the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Jamahiriya's exports to the USSR last year totalled 280.2 million roubles, almost three times the 1978 figure. The main exports were oil, minerals and metals. Soviet exports to the Jamahiriya last year were also three times their 1978 level, at 157.4 million roubles. The main items supplied were machinery, cars, building materials and household goods.

The Soviet Union is currently laying a 570 km gas pipeline in the Jamahiriya, is helping to build a nuclear research centre and is providing assistance in the field of electric power generation.

A group of experts from the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture has carried out a soil and ecological survey over a large area of Libya and has compiled a map showing land suitable for farming.

has a contract to supply 750 tonnes of structural steel for the development, to be used in the construction of two pipe racks and a salt water intake. Earlier it was reported that the French-based Societe Commerciale des Transports Transatlantiques is to transport plant from countries of origin to the Ras Lanouf site. Work entails moving plant of up to 750 tonnes in weight and 80 metres length. Companies from twelve countries are supplying equipment for the scheme.

## Self-sufficiency in cement

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has achieved self-sufficiency in the production of cement, the Jamahiriya Arab News Agency reported on 15th November. Output in the first nine months of last year was 1,468,464 tonnes. About \$682 million has been spent on the construction of cement works.

## Latest technology for Ras Lanouf

NEW GENERATION polypropylene technology is to be used at a plant to be built at the major petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf on the coast of the Gulf of Sirte. The El Paso Polyolefins Company of Houston, Texas, is to licence the Azzawiya Refinery Company to use the equipment at the 68,000 tonnes per annum capacity polypropylene plant it is to build at the complex. The new plant will produce polypropylene resins for export. The substance is used to make films, fibres and plastic mouldings.

Other schemes at the Ras Lanouf complex include a 220,000 barrel per day oil refinery currently under construction by Snamprogetti and Saipem, subsidiaries of Italy's state hydrocarbons company Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi.

Scientific Design Company of New York has a process licensing and engineering contract to supply a 52,000 tonnes per year monoethylene glycol plant. Italy's Belotti Industrie Meccaniche is building a 1,000 tonnes per day ethylene plant, whose products will be used by a 60,000 tonnes per annum low density polyethylene plant and a high density plant of similar capacity. Contracts for these will be awarded soon, it is expected. Later contracts are expected to increase their output to 100,000 tonnes per year. In addition, factories will be built to produce ethylbenzene (aromatics), polystyrene, polybutadiene (synthetic rubber) and acrylonitrile (synthetic fibre).

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